1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading [28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokutsū* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

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Although a good example of this type of action cannot be found it is confirmed by the Supplement to *Kyumei Kōki* which states that when officials came on inspection trips the Ezo flocked to express their gratitude for "the necessary aid given to the aged and those with incurable diseases."[11] It cannot be true, as was then believed, that the Ezo were all an ignorant and helpless people but their livelihood did depend on nature and was therefore at the mercy of natural calamity and famine which could result in the starvation of many.[12] The Bakufu was seriously interested in this problem and ordered each *Basho* to store away part of its produce to relieve the Ezo of the fear of famine and to extend relief whenever there was danger of such an event. Part of the *Kahei ukeoi no uchi nainai bannin no kokorourusho* [Secret Instructions to Guards during the contract period Kahei] on Etorofu deals with this:

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1. The preparation of dried trout by villagers. This task has, in the past, been carried out during the latter part of the fishing season. But recently there have been years when the season has lasted only a day or two and therefore it is advised that this task be started immediately after the season opens. First of all a drying rack should be set up at a sunny spot and the fish, the amount of which is to be determined by the size of a family, be dried. Some families may require a total of 300 bundles, some 500 or 1,000 or even 1,500.

All women and those aged capable of working should be allotted this task and the needed amount must be ready by the end of the season.

2. Estimation of the amount of dried fish. The necessary amount per person, regardless of age, is 2 tails per day or 3 bundles per month. From November to March the total amount per person would be 15 bundles or 1,500 bundles for 100 people. Amounts needed shall be calculated according to the above.

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Thus the contractors oversaw the preparation of winter provisions, a job which, till then, had been carried on by the natives of their own volition. It was natural for the contractors to assume this responsibility because their industrial plans included utilizing all Ezo manpower and it was also one of the means by which the surplus production of the Ezo was absorbed. Nevertheless, the Ezo were now able to secure their food supply throughout the winter and in case of short-

[11] Kunashiri to chiri sono hoka no gi Shozaemon moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Shozaemon on the geography and other matters pertaining to Kunashiri Island) in *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 789, states, "Since proper treatment has been given to those persons obedient to their parents and to those who are diligent and commendable and to the aged and the sick, the natives seem quite satisfied and on my own (Habuto Seiyō . . . the author) recent tour of the island the *Otona* frequently came to me to express their gratitude."

[12] Takakura Shinichirō, Tokugawa jidai ni okeru Ezojinko genshō no jijitsu oyobi sono genin ni taisuru ichi kosatsu (A study of the cause and effects of the decrease in Ezo population during the Tokugawa period), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 5 (4): 92–93.

[P. 70 (A)]

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

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[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But.

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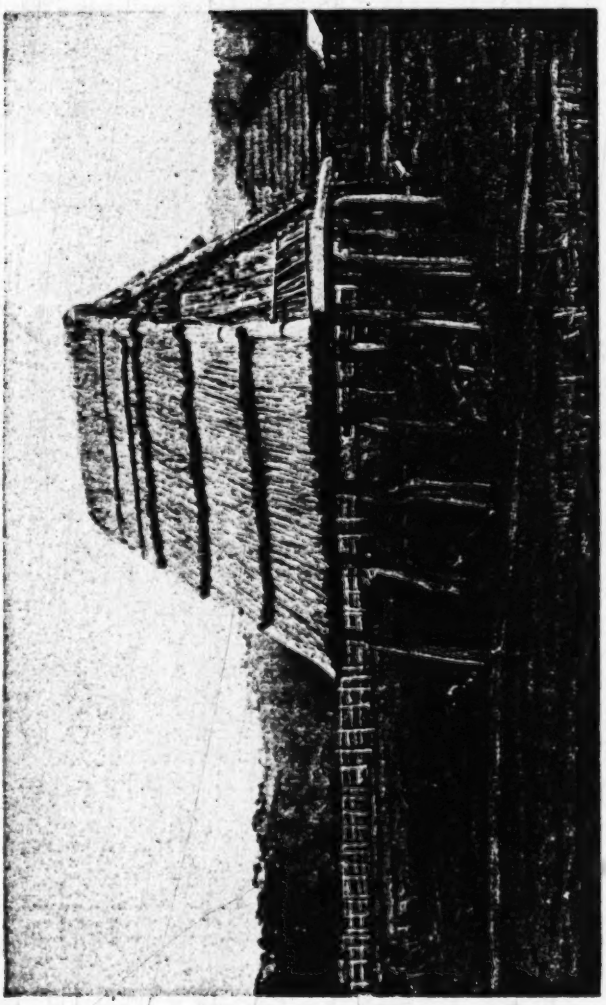

AN AINU GRANARY

[P. 88(A)]

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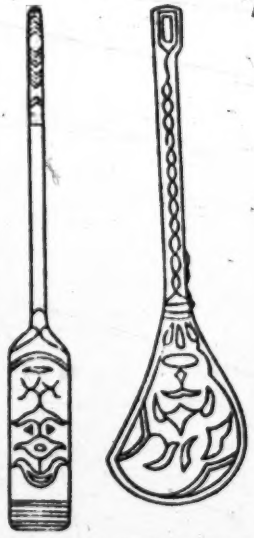
CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were very happy and contented. Even when I myself first arrived among them about 50 years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

251 252 without salt, I never found such food savoury. It seemed to my palate to be good material spoiled. The people, however, cooked it with garlic or anemone flaccida (which I never could stand), and seemed to enjoy it. Herrings, sardines, cod and other kinds of fish, large and small, abounded round the coasts, and also fine large crabs and many kinds of shell-fish. In those days I could get a very big crab for sixpence; today [178] they are four shillings each. The lakes also were well stocked with fresh water fish. Hence there was seldom any lack of food.

136 There were also plenty of seals, walruses, porpoises, swordfish, black fish, bonito and such creatures to be caught near the coasts, and now and again a fine whale would be washed ashore. Yes, there was plenty of food for the Ainu in those halcyon days. And the people still hanker after them and wish they would return!

136 225 The fur seal formerly abounded in the waters of the north and, although they are now seldom seen about Hokkaidō, large "schools" of them used annually to migrate past Hakodate and Volcano Bay on their way to their breeding grounds under Siberia. The Ainu used to take many of these and use the skins for barter and soft clothing, and eat the flesh for food. Even so late as the year 1891, Professor John Milne wrote of these mammals as follows:

136 "In Volcano Bay I saw for the first time the fur seal migrating northward. (This was in June.) At a distance of several miles it appeared as if the surface of the ocean was covered with jumping fish. On approaching nearer, a glass showed them to be seals, which were diving and jumping out of the water, but all heading in the same direction. Before we passed them —which took several hours—hundreds were within 50 or 100 yards of the ship. The area they occupied was at least 5 miles square, and reckoning that each seal was, say, fifty yards from its neighbour, the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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eating. And strawberries also are to be found. There is a rich abundance of wild grapes and, although these are very sour, the people and the bears relish them much. They are not preserved in any way but are gathered and eaten when in season, or before. Mulberries of a small kind are plentiful in some localities and are very sweet. These and the raspberries make good jam. The blueberry, also, is found in some places. An edible kind of actinidia abounds, and this fruit, eaten in moderation, is most palatable. Bears are inordinately fond of it. Thus, then, it will be seen that the Ainu, excepting in times of famine, never lacked plenty of food to eat. I used to pay a shilling for a big salmon; for a salmon-trout fourpence; for a hare threepence; for a tree grouse twopence. A bag of rice cost two shillings.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia*) were also used for food in the early spring when very young. They were taken and first boiled, then pounded in a mortar, and after that made into cakes and dried for future consumption. A good deal, however, was eaten at once, pounded with millet or rice. It is said to have been very nutritious and to be of itself quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a healthy condition. It had a very sweet flavour and the people were remarkably fond of it. It is said that in olden times the Ainu lived much on this herb, and that it has been the means of keeping many alive throughout more than one famine.

Sometimes the people used to boil, peel and pound chestnuts and eat them with fish eggs. The roe and nuts were pounded together and then boiled. Sometimes animal fat was also added, and this made a very rich though indigestible dish. Sometimes it was eaten without being cooked, but as a rule it was made into cakes and toasted. I found this concoction not at all bad on occasion after a good day of tramping it. The people are extremely fond of fresh salmon roe. They

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

"The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with 789
wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself.

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very 773
large number of deities have their homes here. When 776
the time came for me to marry, I looked about my 789
dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed.

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over [251]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 776 789 [251]

which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.* But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears. So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
● 251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or god-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

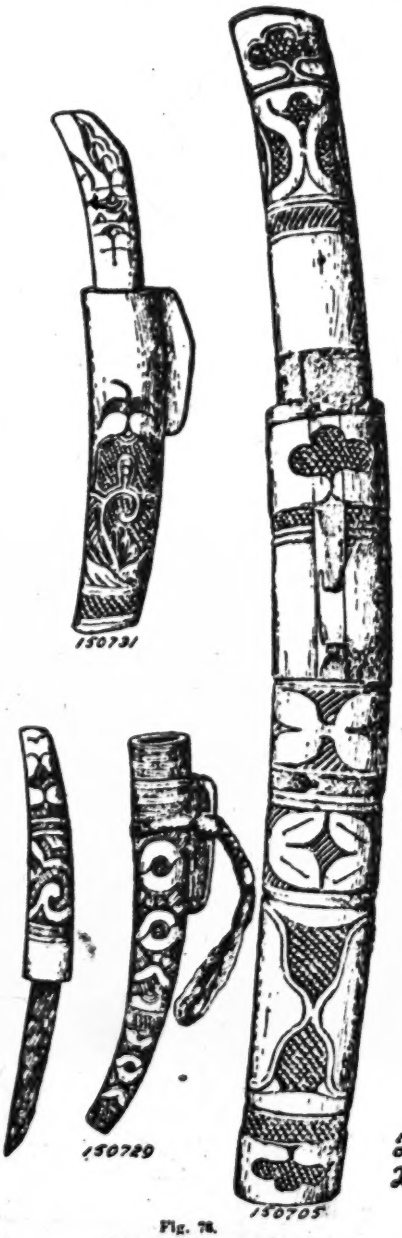

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

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3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in
●251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people..

[247] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at
[177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among
413 the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The peculiar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [281]

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

[427]

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

[301]

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shikerubikina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

126 251 212

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ¾ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with stripe of bark. The lily is probably the *uba-guri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

126

Stripe of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150756

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226
mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men. 226 776

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I sometimes found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend." 115

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose property there passed a fine river which always abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six 539 226

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava.

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature.

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners.

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit."

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koropok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu.

AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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INTRODUCTION

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

[643] It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to 177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal [464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the ● [251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi;* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass technique. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

The Meshing-net.

This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

Spring Fishing.

With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 512 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that [462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 221 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 221 184 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 221 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk. [462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The [184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches [132] in the same rivers (Oya, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers [251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly [262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[17].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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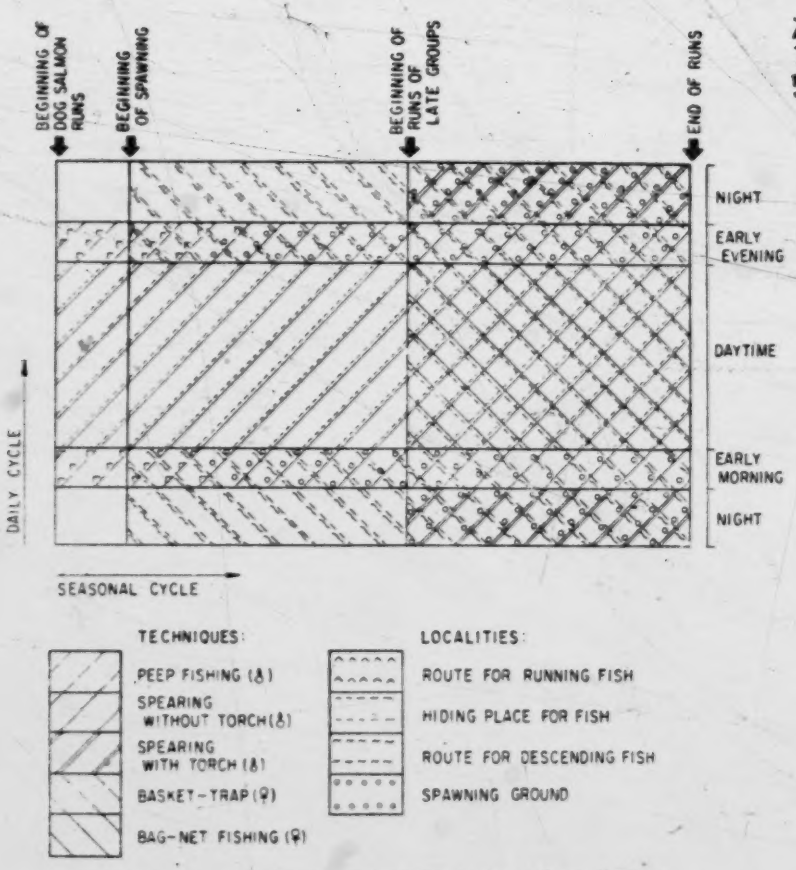

Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
182

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

462

Scraping bark	Female
Aconite plants	Male

Processing of Gathered Materials

Bear and deer:	
Skinning:	
First cutting	Male
Other skinning work	Male and/or female
Abstracting fat	Male and/or female
Scraping skin	Male and/or female
Feeding bear-cub	Female
Fish:	
First cutting of first dog salmon	Male
Other cutting and processing work including roasting and sun-drying	Female or male
House building:	
Constructing frame	Male
Thatching and walling	Female
Lifting up the roof	Male and female
Building dugout	Male
Boiling, drying and storing edible plants	Female
Manufacturing wooden utencils and furniture	Male
Weaving, knitting and sewing	Female
Making threads	Female

Cycles of Gathering Activities, Sex Division of Labour and Changes of Activity Fields. 221 462

The Ainu had two major cycles of gathering activities: a leisure season in winter for about two months and a work season for about ten months from spring to fall. During the work season their labour was devoted to hunting by men for about two to three months, to collecting by women for about five to six months, and to fishing, mostly salmon, by men and women for about eight to nine months.

Spring.—When the snow season was over and thawing began, biotic communities started their lively activities, which the Ainu, as part of nature, joined by resuming their vigorous outdoor, especially gathering, activities. Their grown-up males organized bear or deer hunting parties, and migrating, the former usually to river-source mountains, the latter to lower hills along and between rivers, and living in huts, did their hunts. Female members, however, except those who went with the parties to cook for them, remained [251]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
462 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supun*, Triboloden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

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Only a few families of the
pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or
pishun kucha, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*',
while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in
cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond.
The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with
repun sotki kor kamui. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit
of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder
killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between
them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to
by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by
pishun utar, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother
to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu
fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of
several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Har-
pooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as
ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as
much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At
the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin
local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the
fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of
departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap*
fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would
come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the
high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782]
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu
became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection [231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the [171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1)--and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113]

1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old [251] Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
179 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to